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# The AMERICAN OBSERVER

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. —James Monroe

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## Politics in Germany and France Studied

Coming of Hitler to Power With New Reichstag Elections Presents Uncertain Future

### FASCISM VS. COMMUNISM ISSUE

Situation in France Temporarily Settled by Naming of New Cabinet

Last week we discussed the fall of cabinets in France and Germany and explained the governmental and party systems of those countries. This week we continue the story with a description of the political situations as they stand now after the change of governments has taken place. For the situation alive with most dramatic interest we turn to Germany, for there the chancellorship is in the hands of Adolf Hitler. It has long been thought that his advent to power would mean a complete change of domestic and foreign policy, that it would mean the setting up of a dictatorship similar to that which Mussolini maintains over Italy and that it might greatly affect the relations existing between Germany and her neighbors.

#### Hitler—Career and Program

Adolf Hitler is an interesting man. He was born forty-three years ago in a little Austrian village near the frontier of Germany. His father was a petty customs officer. Adolf wished to be an architect and spent some time in Vienna studying architecture, but his work was not promising and he was obliged to give it up. He then became a laborer, and when the war came he was absorbed in the great military machine and served as a sergeant. Shortly after the war he helped organize the National Socialist party and has been engaged in politics and agitation since that time. He assisted in one revolutionary attempt to capture the government, but was himself captured and for a time imprisoned. He worked for years trying without great success to further the interests of his party. He made little headway until the depression came. It then became possible to gather great numbers of people into his party of protest and he has marched forward by rapid strides.

Let us now consider Hitler's program. He stands, first, for the abolition of the peace treaties by which the war was brought to a close. He has insisted all the time that reparations should be abolished, that the Polish Corridor should be returned to Germany and that Germany should build an army and develop her military and naval strength. He has held out visions of a new Germany as strong and powerful and glorious as the nation was in pre-war days. Reparations have now been practically abolished and so the items in the Hitler program which have the greatest present significance are his demands for a return of the Polish Corridor and for the reestablishment of the German military machine, with or without the consent of the nations which imposed the Treaty of Versailles upon the Germans.

Though the name of his party is National Socialist, Hitler is not a socialist in the ordinary sense of the term. He does indeed stand for government ownership of the great monopolies, but he would not do away with private ownership of the great

(Continued on page 8)



—Henny in Philadelphia INQUIRER

THIS CARTOON ILLUSTRATES A PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT WHICH IN TIMES LIKE THESE BECOMES SERIOUS. IT IS A PROBLEM WHICH AFFECTS LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND NATIONS EVERYWHERE.

## What Can We Do?

From a Teachers College in the Middle West comes a picture of depression coupled with the assertion of a determination to find a road to recovery. We quote these comments: "I wonder if down there at Washington you realize a fraction of the actual situation—corn a cent a bushel and no sale. Elevators are filled and many a farmer has hauled in a load only to take it back unsold. Corn and straw are being used as fuel right out on the farms that our students are coming from. How the students manage to come is still a marvel to many of us. Both boys and girls are doing light housekeeping, bringing things from home, and the cream checks are giving the meager funds to get along on; to buy the necessary books and papers. I heard of a girl who has spent less than five dollars in the fall quarter. Just tell some of those Congressmen that they better look out or their jobs will be in jeopardy ere long. The younger men and women will be heard. We note a change in attitude. Perhaps they are beginning to think. Your paper helps. This is perhaps the only paper many are receiving now. We are going to train them to become politicians—real ones, not advocates of Secession or Communism. Don't forget it is rampant in these parts, too. Schools are forced to close because there are no funds. Even our faculty hasn't been paid since November. No taxes coming in; banks declaring holidays!" Here we have a picture of distress; of a situation calling for coöperative action looking toward relief; in short, for a political and economic program. We have also a determination to act. It would be well if such a determination should be found in every community of the nation. The next necessity is a recognition that action, to be effective, must be well considered. Sometimes, in periods of stress and suffering, people strike out blindly. They are prompted by emotion to the exclusion of reason. This would be very well if it brought relief, but usually it does not. It is tremendously important at a time like this that each citizen should read as widely as possible so as to fortify his thinking with the best available materials, that he then formulate a program which, in his opinion, will lead to betterment, and that he make his wishes known to those in authority. He need not wait until an election. He need not wait until he is old enough to vote. He should give expression to his own ideas and he should not fail to give support to those leaders who are working for constructive programs. If we all keep our heads, while at the same time holding to our visions, we can and will see this thing through.

## Farm Slump Raises Issue of Inflation

Farmers of Middle West Rise Up in Opposition to Mortgage Foreclosures and Tax Sales

### PRICES AFFECT DEBT PAYMENT

Currency Inflation Would Lift Price Level in Opinion of Agriculturists

Ever since a group of Midwestern farmers went on strike in late summer by refusing to sell their produce and by attempting to prevent others from taking their goods to market, trouble has been brewing throughout the farm belt. Dramatic and significant events are now taking place in a number of the agricultural states. Farmers, indignant at the sight of their homes and property sold under the sheriff's hammer in payment for delinquent taxes and auctioned off because mortgages have not been paid, have revolted. They are determined that such action must be stopped. They are uniting to prevent the insurance companies and other holders of mortgages, as well as representatives of the government, from dispossessing them of all their earthly belongings. In many instances, they have resorted to positive action—kidnapping, insults, personal attacks, boycotts and the like. "Councils of defense" to combat tax sales and mortgage foreclosures are springing up everywhere. A general state of tenseness pervades the entire region.

#### The Present Trouble

Meanwhile, eastern insurance companies and state legislatures are hurriedly working to ease the present uneasiness. The farmers of Iowa, focal point of trouble, have been granted a temporary moratorium on almost \$200,000,000 in mortgages by New York insurance companies, pending relief measures by the state legislature. Several governors have recommended that boards of conciliation be set up in an attempt to settle the differences between the farmers and the mortgagors. The comptroller of the currency in Washington has sent out a message to national banks which hold farm mortgages, advising them to pursue a "liberal policy" in dealing with their debtors.

The present agricultural "revolution" is not an unnatural development of this stage of the depression. For years, the farmers have been in desperate straits. They have seen the price of their products sink lower and lower until they have, many of them, found it unprofitable even to harvest their crops. But so long as they were able to keep a roof over their heads and provide the bare necessities of life, they were relatively tranquil and only faint rumblings were heard from the farm belt. Now, however, that their homes are threatened by forced sales, the farmers have registered their protests by taking matters largely into their own hands.

#### Collapse of Prices

The present case of the farmers offers an adequate illustration of the effect of falling prices upon agriculture and industry. Many of those now revolting contracted heavy debts during the more prosperous times. They mortgaged their land and their homes. Many of them bought new land by paying only a part of the

cost in cash and making up the balance by giving a mortgage, agreeing to pay a certain percentage of interest each year. Others bought tractors and new farm implements on time. At that time the farmers felt perfectly safe in running up debts and the banks were willing, and even anxious, to lend them the necessary money because times were good, the farmers were receiving high prices. No one expected that they would have any difficulty in paying off these obligations when they fell due.

But the entire situation has been altered by the price collapse of the last few years. To the farmer who borrowed, let us say, \$1,000 it was a question of selling only 1,000 bushels of wheat, for he was receiving \$1 a bushel for his wheat. If, however, the price of wheat has declined to 25 cents a bushel, he must sell not 1,000 bushels, but 4,000 bushels. In other words, his debt has increased fourfold in terms of the product with which he must indirectly make payment. The same is true of the farmer who makes his livelihood by selling cotton, or corn, or tobacco, or hogs, or any other product the price of which has shrunk three or four times since his debts were contracted. Such a price decline has made it virtually impossible for the farmers to continue payments on their debts and the unpleasant situation now confronting the nation is the logical result.

What is true of the farmers is likewise true of every other debtor class. The business concern, for example, that borrowed money by selling bonds finds that it must raise just as many dollars today in order to pay the interest and principal as it did three years ago. Translated into shoes, or clothing, or steel, however, the debt has increased because more of those products must be sold in order to raise the same amount of money as was originally borrowed.

#### Inflation Demands

As has always happened in past depressions, this state of affairs has given rise to a strong movement for currency inflation—a movement that gains momentum with each month of the slump. A host of bills calling for inflation of the currency are now pending before the banking committees of both houses of Congress. These measures all differ in form. Some of them have taken shape under the banner of "free silver," or the "remonetization of silver," as the inflation movement of the 1893 depression manifested itself. They call for the use of silver, along with gold, as a base for our currency. Other measures provide for the issuance of large sums of paper money not backed by as much gold as is now supporting the currency. But whatever form the inflation proposals take, they all have a single objective, namely, the raising of prices.

The reasoning of those who advocate inflation of the currency as a means of raising prices is about like this: Prices are down because there is not enough money in circulation. Dollars have become scarce and as a result each dollar will buy too many goods. If people had more money they would be able to buy more; there would be a greater demand for goods and prices would consequently rise. The entire argument of the inflationists is based upon the assumption that an increase in the supply of money would automatically cause prices to move upward.

As a matter of fact, however, the question of inflation is not so simple as that.

The inflationists in and out of Congress are divided as to what kind of inflation they want. The type of inflation most commonly referred to is that of which we have numerous examples in our own history and in the history of other nations. It is the direct inflation of the currency. It means printing additional quantities of paper money and putting it into circulation without increasing the gold reserves. This type of inflation means reducing the amount of gold held in reserve against each paper dollar in circulation. Instead of having each dollar bill convertible into 25.8 grains of gold, it would provide for redemption in a smaller amount of gold. Or, if enough of the new currency were issued, it might not even be redeemable in gold at all. This is the sort of thing that happened during the Civil War period when so many greenbacks were issued that the government was no longer able to convert them into gold. In Germany, a similar course was followed in the post-war period. Billions and trillions of paper marks were issued and finally they became absolutely worthless.

available to business concerns. Most of the business of the nation is carried on not with currency but with bank credit; that is, with checks and drafts and other credit instruments. Few business concerns use cash to pay their bills. They find it more convenient to write checks and these checks represent deposits they have previously made in banks. Now, it is felt, if the supply of this bank credit could be increased, if more funds were provided to the business and industrial concerns of the nation, prices would be more likely to rise than if we merely increased the amount of paper money in circulation.

#### Federal Reserve Policy

Actually, such a policy of inflation has been tried in this country during the last year. The Federal Reserve Board made a conscious attempt to increase the supply of credit available for business purposes. It authorized all Federal Reserve Banks (these are bankers' banks which deal not with the general public but with individual private and commercial banks) to buy

it was felt, cause a general improvement.

In practice, however, this policy has not resulted in any great expansion of business or any upward movement in prices. There are several reasons why the plan has not worked. In the first place, commercial banks in general have been unwilling to make loans. Actually, they now have plenty of loanable funds which are not being made available to business concerns. They have been afraid to have all their reserves out in loans lest they be confronted with heavy demands from their depositors. So many banks have failed during the last three years that those still remaining open want to be prepared to meet any "runs" that might take place. On the other hand, the business concerns themselves are largely responsible for the failure of the plan to bring expansion. With general conditions so unsettled and with little feeling of optimism for better times in the near future, manufacturers have not wanted to run the risk of increasing their indebtedness by borrowing more from the banks. In these two ways, the policy has been largely nullified.

#### Public Works

Finally, we come to another group of inflationists who are exerting considerable pressure upon Congress. They are the people who believe that the only organization which can make a policy of inflation really effective is the government itself. They would have the government put money directly in circulation by means of a huge program of public works. They are calling for a gigantic appropriation—\$5,000,000,000 for instance—to be used for road building, river and harbor improvement, slum clearance and other similar projects. The government would have to borrow the money because it could not raise such a large sum by taxation. But the money would be paid out to laborers, contractors, companies supplying materials for the construction, and, it is felt, increase employment, cause prices to rise and give the impetus necessary for the long-awaited upward trend.

We have already had one recent experience with this sort of inflation. During the World War, the federal government borrowed billions of dollars.

It used the money to buy war materials and to carry out a huge program of destruction. But prices did rise and general conditions of prosperity prevailed.

This suggestion is receiving most serious opposition from those who feel that it would be unsafe for the government at present to borrow such large sums. They fear that it would cause the federal credit to crumble, start a campaign of fear and hoarding, and make general conditions much worse than they have been.

While the whole issue of inflation is not likely to figure actively during the remaining days of the present Congress, it is certain to become one of the major problems confronting the new Congress. Mr. Roosevelt has pledged himself to sound currency and it does not appear likely that he will recommend putting the printing presses to work. But he may favor the other type of inflation; that is, the raising of prices by a public works program.

The first National Bank of Duluth, let us say, has \$50,000 worth of Liberty Bonds on hand. Naturally, it cannot lend these bonds to private companies. Yet, it has demands for loans amounting to that amount. So, it sells the bonds to the Federal Reserve Bank and receives \$50,000 of new money which it may lend. The Duluth business houses borrow the money, increase production and business in that section becomes more active. This policy, if followed throughout the country, would

Vice-president-elect Garner will attend cabinet meetings in the new administration. Mr. Roosevelt has long believed in such a practice since it enables the vice-president to keep in closer touch with executive problems.



# Vast Region Beyond China World's Newest Frontier

## Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, Nepal, and Afghanistan Are Lands Little Known to West

From modern China west toward Russia and the Caspian Sea stretches a vast area of some two million square miles, once the home of the world's oldest culture, yet now the world's newest frontier.

The "top of the world," where the great chain of the Himalayas lift their unattainable peaks between the plains of India and the steppes of Siberia, was in Marco Polo's time all a part of an immense, loosely knit Chinese Empire. Today it is a series of semi-independent states, whose vast mountains, unexplored forests and strange peoples tempt the most adventurous spirits of the western world, as our own plains and Rockies did three hundred years ago. But the white men who venture on that little-known frontier today find, not savages, but peoples with a heritage of ancient culture thousands of years older than that of Europe.

Tibet, a land of inaccessible mountain peaks and valleys, coldly inhospitable to foreign visitors, is ruled as a monastery-state by the lamas, or priests of Lamaism, a religion as old as that of Buddha. Their holy city, the storied capital of Lhassa, high on the shoulder of a steep Himalayan slope, is dominated by the great, red, spreading lamasery, or monastery, of the Dalai Lama, spiritual and civic head of this Lamaist state. During the Chinese revolution of 1911, when the old empire fell, the Chinese garrisons were ousted from Tibet, and now, although nominally a protectorate of Great Britain and British India on the south, the Mongol Tibetan people maintain a rugged and almost savage independence. For a long time they punished with death what was to them the sacrilegious intrusion of any non-Lamaist visitors from the outside world. Now, however, an occasional hardy white man follows the example of Younghusband and successfully penetrates to the sacred city, returning with tales of monasteries perched like eyries among gleaming mountain snows, or of gorgeously costumed devil dances at Lhassa on religious holidays and the sweeping, icy waters of the world's three greatest rivers, the Indus, the Brahmaputra and the Yangtze-kiang, rushing from their sources in Tibetan cataracts.

Going north from Tibet, the traveler must cross the great wall of the Kuenlun Mountains to reach Eastern, or Chinese Turkestan, a country nearly as large as Tibet but much less rugged and more populous. This was once a half legendary land known as Sinkiang, of which little was known beyond the strange tales told by the drivers of Mongolian camel caravans who brought from the mountains of Turkestan most of China's fabulous wealth of jade. Now, however, a revolutionary

change has been brought about by the Soviet government's construction of the famous new Turk-Sib Railroad through nearby Russian Turkestan. Although still nominally united with China by a vague political association, eastern Turkestan's economic development is now more and more bound up with the Soviet Union. It is separated from Russia on the west by the almost impassable Pamir Mountains, that few white men have ever crossed, but the nearness of the new railroad has done much to open up the fertile, irrigated valleys between the Kashgar and Yarkand rivers, where the dark-skinned Turki and Chinese Mohammedan people raise rich crops of grain, fruits and cotton. We are apt to think of Siberia as a desolate country of the frozen north, but all southern Siberia, like this district of Turkestan, has warm summers and a soil as richly productive as our own western farm lands.

South of Turkestan and Tibet are the small Buddhist principalities of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, native states ruled by hereditary maharajahs, or native princes, with wide, independent powers under the British government of India. Bhutan and Sikkim are two little countries about the size of Vermont and Delaware, all mountains, with deep, narrow valleys scarcely ever visited by foreigners. Nepal, however, a long, narrow strip of territory as large as Florida, is better known to the outside world. It is the home of the fighting Gurkhas, made famous by Kipling's tales and verse, and has a long and bloody history of frontier wars. Conquered by the Hindus in the fourteenth century, it was reconquered in the eighteenth by the Gurkhas, who now hold it under British sovereignty and provide some of the best soldiers in Great Britain's Indian army. On the southern slopes of the Himalayas, it is thickly wooded and has wide, fertile valleys, yet its northern mountains include Mount Everest, the highest peak in the world, as yet unscaled by man.

Far to the northwest, beyond Turkestan and beyond India's most northern gateway, the Khyber Pass, lies Afghanistan, a kingdom as large as Texas, all of which lies at an altitude above 4,000 feet. It is



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### BAGGAGE TRANSPORT IN TURKESTAN

A camel caravan crossing the Gez river in Sinkiang, as shown in a photograph made by a special staff representative of the National Geographic Society, who accompanied the Citroen-Haardt Trans-Asiatic Expedition.

one of the most difficult lands in the world for travelers to visit, as there are no railroads at all, and the Khyber Pass, over which trains of camels and shaggy ponies carry Afghan wool, skins, and copper into India, is often closed to foreigners. Although there is an established government, under a king, or emir, and parliament, the country is more or less lawless and there is no adequate police force to control the raiding bands of wild Pathan mountaineers that we would call no less than outlaws and brigands. These are a very independent and unruly people, living in rough stone villages in their mountain fastnesses and as a rule recognizing only the authority of their own headmen or chieftains. The modernization of Afghanistan, however, has begun. Although young King Amanullah, who was educated in Europe and attempted in 1929 to westernize his country overnight, was exiled for his pains, his successors are instituting the constitutional reforms he tried to introduce too suddenly.

## League Committee Opposes Recognition of Manchukuo

Refusal by Japan of the League of Nations' offer of conciliation in the Chino-Japanese dispute, and condemnation by the League of Japan's aggression in Manchuria, have led to a strained and tense situation at Geneva. For the first time in its history, the League is apparently confronted with an inescapable necessity of choosing whether or not it will invoke Article XVI of the Covenant, providing for the use of "sanctions" or force against an aggressor

nation. On February 6, the League's Committee of Nineteen voted to recommend not only non-recognition of Manchukuo but also non-cooperation with it.

Japan has declared that such action would mean renewed trouble. She has further threatened to withdraw from membership in the League and at the same time to keep possession of the former German Equatorial Islands in the South Pacific, assigned by the League as Japanese mandates under the Treaty of Versailles.

The \$90,000,000 "seed bill" for immediate farm loan relief, became law through President Hoover's signature February 4.

## THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Pain is the great teacher of mankind. Beneath its breath souls develop.  
—Marie Ebner-Eschenbach

Adolf Hitler, like other rulers, discovers that responsibility takes the starch out of campaign promises.  
—Washington Post

In Russia a farmer is penalized if he raises too little wheat; over here if he raises too much.  
—New York HERALD-TRIBUNE

It is hoped medical science in time will have things so arranged that we shan't have a flu epidemic in the same winter with Huey Long.  
—Detroit News

Nations are like that, too. Land-grabbing seems dreadfully wicked to the ones that have grabbed enough.—San Diego (Cal.) UNION

We have an oversupply of food and an oversupply of consumers, but somehow they never seem to get together.  
—New York HERALD-TRIBUNE

The language of truth is simple.—Euripides

The serious question that confronts us as a nation is this: After the lame ducks, what?  
—Philadelphia INQUIRER

Probably the author of the stock market reports is complaining that his vogue is passed.  
—New York HERALD-TRIBUNE

St. Louis thieves pose as bill collectors. These days one would think that posing as a bill collector would be a mighty hard way to get into a house.  
—Dayton DAILY NEWS

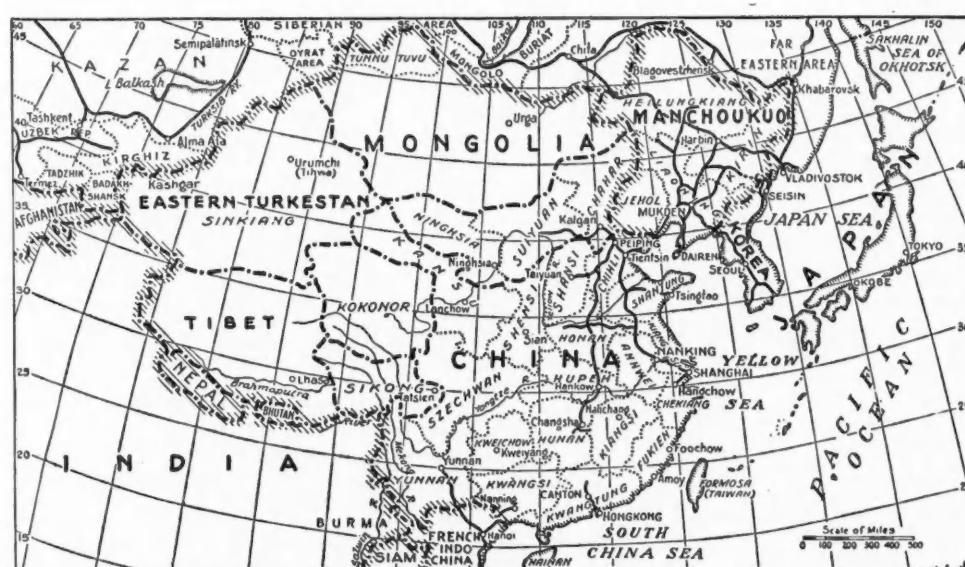
A plan for utilizing undeveloped resources and providing widespread employment is being considered by President-elect Roosevelt. The people will not care whether it is termed "technocracy" or "socialism" or anything else, so long as it works.  
—Washington STAR

The world at present is like a man who has been reading a patent medicine ad and suddenly finds himself afflicted with every ill known to medical science and a lot that haven't as yet been classified.  
—Philadelphia INQUIRER

Henry Ford says these are not bad times, but good times. It's a relief to know that Henry is still getting his three squares a day.  
—Philadelphia INQUIRER

Minds that have little to confer find little to perceive.  
—William Wordsworth

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** Lama (lah'ma—first a as in art, second a as in final), Lhassa (las'a—first a as in art, second a as in final), Dalai Lama (da-lí' lah'ma—i as in ice), Brahmaputra (brah'ma-poo'tra), Sinkiang (sin-kiahng'), Pamir (pah-meer'), Kashgar (kash-gar')—both a's as in art), Yarkand (yar-kahnd')—a as in art), Nepal (ne-pawl'), Bhutan (boo-tahn'), Sikkim (sik'im—i as in hit), Gurkha (goor'ka), Khyber (ki'ber—i as in ice), Emir (ay-meer'), Pathan (pah-tahn') or pay'than).



CHINA AND ITS OUTLYING REGIONS

(Map from "The Tinder Box of Asia" by George E. Sokolsky, Doubleday Doran.)

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## The Story of the Week

**H**ERE is the record of Congress during the first week of February:

**Senate.** Debated the Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill and adopted several important amendments to that bill. Among these was a new proposal, by Senator Byrnes of South Carolina, to give the new administration sweeping powers to reorganize the federal government machinery. Under former proposals, the action of only one house of Congress could block a presidential reorganization scheme, as President Hoover's executive orders for that purpose were shelved in January by a vote of the House. Under the Byrnes amendment, however, congressional blocking of the new president's program would be practically impossible, as it would require a joint resolution of Congress, which the president could of course veto. The two-thirds vote of both houses necessary to override his veto is conceded as practically impossible in the new Congress. Two other amendments are that of Senator Johnson of California, to require the federal government to "buy American," and that of Senator Robinson of Arkansas to cut off the federal appropriation for air mail transport. The Senate Banking Committee held hearings on a bill by Senator Couzens of Michigan, to stop R. F. C. loans to railroads, and on a bill by Senator Robinson to rehabilitate the farmer by an "Emergency Agricultural Refinance Corporation" under which joint stock land banks would be merged with the Federal Reserve system and a nation-wide group of "conciliation commissioners" would be appointed to adjust farmers' debts. The Senate Finance Committee, under a bone dry, Senator Smoot of Utah, reported favorably on the Collier beer bill already passed by the House and providing for 3.05 per cent beer with a \$5 a barrel tax. At Senate hearings Secretary of the Treasury Ogden Mills estimated this beer tax would bring in a federal revenue of between \$125,000,000 and \$150,000,000. The Senate Agriculture Committee continued hearings on the domestic allotment bill, but neither this nor the beer bill is expected to come to a vote this session.

**House.** Passed the LaGuardia-McKeown

bankruptcy bill and a one-year extension of both the Glass-Steagall credit expansion act and the one-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax. The new bankruptcy bill, which is now before a Senate judiciary subcommittee and is expected to pass the Senate, would amend the national bankruptcy laws with a view to relieving the debt situation for individuals and corporations throughout the country by allowing for a debtor's filing with a federal court a statement of inability to pay. This would open the way for a temporary moratorium on debts and mortgages while negotiations could be carried on between debtors and creditors to avert sudden and disastrous sales and liquidation of assets. In other words, it would make possible a sort of breathing space for debtors without the necessity of actual bankruptcy. An important special section of the bill would prevent threatened railroad receiverships by setting up the Interstate Commerce Commission as an agent for the courts in reorganizing insolvent railroad companies. The House bill would continue the gasoline tax until July, 1934, providing an estimated federal revenue of about \$137,000,000. The Glass-Steagall act would also be continued, until March, 1934. This act extended in 1932 greater facilities to small financial institutions, and permitted the use of government securities as collateral for Federal Reserve notes, thus liberating part of the gold reserves. The House debated appropriation bills for the smaller government offices.



**A**MONG the questions of first-rate importance which Congress has been considering is that having to do with the cutting of federal salaries. A very strong effort has been made to cut further the salaries of government employees. This step is advocated as a measure of economy—as a means of lightening the taxpayers' burdens. The assumption behind it is that the expenses of the government should be reduced in a time of depression and that the activities of the government should be curtailed.

Before one determines his position on this question, he must decide whether further deflation is desirable as a way out of depression, for the issue of deflation is tied up with this wage-cutting question. If it is a good thing to reduce costs of production still further by curtailing business activities and by cutting expenses even though that policy necessitates throwing men out of jobs and thus cutting down the consuming power of the people, then wage cutting is a good thing, and the government should set the pace. If, however, the process of deflation, or liquidation, has gone far enough, if we need to arrest the downward swing of costs and of prices, if we need to steady prices, and if possible, raise them, in order to relieve the burdens of debtors and to give employment, then wage cutting is a bad thing and the government should not set the pace in that direction. On this particular

concrete question there is a difference of opinion among students of depression economics.

**A**MAGAZINE article which was not of itself either very interesting or very important, claimed quite a little of the time of the two houses of Congress early this month. The article was written by David S. Barry, sergeant-at-arms of the Senate, and it appeared in the February number of *The New Outlook*. It was called "Over the Hill to Demagoguery." Mr. Barry assumed in his article that progressives are demagogues. He listed a number of their activities and classified them as demagogic, and made the point that since these liberals, or progressives, would appear in Congress in the next session in considerable numbers, we might expect an era of demagoguery. But that was not the feature of the article which commanded the attention of Congress.

Mr. Barry began his article with this paragraph:

Contrary, perhaps, to the popular belief, there are not many crooks in Congress, that is, out and out grafters, or those who are willing to be such; there are not many Senators or Representatives who sell their vote for money, and it is pretty well known who those few are; but there are many demagogues of the kind that will vote for legislation solely because they think that it will help their political and social fortunes.

Many senators and representatives were enraged at the suggestion that some of their number would sell their votes. The Senate called the sergeant-at-arms to the floor to explain himself. He explained that he had not meant to say that any congressman actually had sold his vote, but merely to say that such was not the general practice and that if it were resorted to, the guilty ones would be known. This may seem a petty incident, and yet it appeared very important to the senators. The sergeant-at-arms had certainly committed an indiscretion by making a charge such as he did against members of the body which he served, especially inasmuch as he had no facts upon which to base his assertion. And so the Senate suspended him from office. He would have been retired on the fourth of March, anyway, for his office is political and changes with the change in party control, but his suspension served as a rebuke by the outraged Senate.

It is a fact generally accepted by observers of legislative bodies that actual bribery of legislators is now quite uncommon. Money is seldom paid for the purchase of a vote. That is, after all, a crude method. There are many other ways by which votes may be influenced. Votes are frequently traded in modern legislative bodies. One legislator will support a measure advocated by a fellow member, in return for the fellow member's support of the legislator's measures. Legislators also cater frequently to powerful selfish interests who promise political support in return. These are but a few of the many forms which the influencing of legislative votes takes. These more refined and just as effective means of influencing legislation have, with rare exceptions, taken the place of the old-fashioned purchasing of votes with money. No mistake, however, could be greater than to assume, as Mr. Barry did, that those who "vote for legislation solely because they think that it will help their social and political fortunes" are confined to the radical, or progressive, groups.



**I**T IS becoming apparent that the road to agreement on the debt issue between the United States and Great Britain will be a hard one. President-elect Roosevelt and other American leaders have given the impression that the United States will revise the debts owed to this country only on condition that the countries owing us



MORE SCRAPS OF PAPER

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-DISPATCH

the money will do something for us in return. In other words, we are to use the debts for trading purposes. We might, for example, cut down the amount England is to pay us if the English should agree to go back to the gold standard. Then it might be expected that English prices (in terms of gold) would cease falling, that it would be less of a temptation to Americans to buy these cheap goods, and American producers would thus be freed from a burdensome form of competition. It has been suggested that we might also revise the debts in case tariff barriers against our goods were removed or lowered.

The British take the position that the debts are a hindrance to world trade, that they hurt America as well as the debtor nations, and that the debts should be lowered or cancelled, regardless of the way other world economic problems are solved. They should be cut or cancelled without any demands for favors. The British further argue that questions such as the return to the gold standard and trade barriers should be left over till the World Economic Conference.

Neville Chamberlain, British chancellor of the exchequer, made a speech in which he stated the British position. A newspaper supposed to reflect Prime Minister MacDonald's views took the same view. This announcement in advance that the British would demand an unconditional revision of the debts to this country and that they would give nothing in return for it, aroused public sentiment in America against debt revision, and it appears that these advance statements of the British position are creating in America an anti-revision sentiment which will render a successful negotiation of the debt issue more difficult. There is danger that when the negotiators meet they may be confronted by this situation: The British may be committed to their demand for an unconditional revision or cancellation. They may be afraid to accept any other solution lest they be repudiated by the British public. They may therefore be obliged to insist upon unconditional debt revision in order to save their own faces. The American negotiators may be committed to the securing of concessions in return for debt revision and they may be obliged to stand for that solution in order to save their faces. Such a thing may not happen, but we have had a number of conferences in which face saving, rather than statesmanship, seemed to be the governing influence; and a few more speeches by British politicians may produce another such conference.

Senators Reed of Pennsylvania and Lewis of Illinois, both opponents of debt revision, have warned President-elect Roosevelt not to negotiate a debt settlement without consulting Congress. Mr. Roosevelt has announced that he will conduct the negotiations but will keep in consultation with members of Congress selected for that purpose.—W. E. M.



HARDSCRABBLE ROAD

—Kirby in N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM

## WITH AUTHORS AND EDITORS

We read old books for their excellence, but new ones to share in the mental life of our time.—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

### Decisive Moments

Last year we brought to the attention of our readers a unique and interesting volume called "Minute Biographies." It contained short sketches of 150 noted men and women of history. There was a page devoted to each and the page contained a drawing of the historical character under consideration and of some incident or incidents connected vitally with his career. These sketches were necessarily brief, but they were interesting and enlightening. They served as introductions to the lives of great men and women of all time and they were so vivid and entertaining as to encourage more detailed biographical reading. The factual material and the illustrations were supplied by Samuel Nisenson and Alfred Parker, and the book was published by Grosset and Dunlap. Now these authors give us another volume similar in nature and style. It is "Great Moments in History" by Nisenson and Parker (New York: Grosset and Dunlap. \$1.00).

There are 150 sketches in this book. Each one occupies a page and is accompanied by a drawing. Each sketch is similar to the one which is reproduced on this page. There is an outline of fact connected with 150 of the decisive incidents of history. These incidents are drawn from all nations and from the entire period of civilization. The first one pictures the exodus from Egypt; the second, the first Olympic games; the third, the founding of Rome by Romulus; and so it goes, including the flight of Mohammed, the battle of Bannockburn, the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, the battle of Saratoga, the fall of the Bastille, the first steamboat, the battle of Waterloo, the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the opening of the Panama Canal, the signing

of the Armistice, the flight of Lindbergh, and many others of which these are typical.

The choice of topics appears well considered. If objection is made that too many of them are military, it must be allowed that dramatic moments or scenes are likely to be military or political in nature. The scientific or economic developments, more important in the long run, perhaps, do not so often come to a head in any single dramatic moment. Quite a number of these sketches, however, deal with scientific subjects.

### "Roads to Knowledge"

"Roads to Knowledge," edited by William Allan Neilson (New York: W. W. Norton. \$3.75), examines the different fields of knowledge; the fine arts, biological science, classics, economics, history, modern languages, literature, mathematics, music, philosophy, psychology and sociology. There is a chapter on each of these subjects prepared by a specialist in the field. The purpose is to give to the student or general reader a picture of the contribution which may be made to the understanding of life by each of these subjects, or "roads to knowledge." Dr. Neilson, who is president of Smith College, says in his introduction to this series of studies:

What we learn in school and college beyond a few elementary facts and the control of a few tools merely serves to start us on a process which should end only with life itself. Effectiveness in work, in citizenship, and in the enjoyment of life depends on the persistence of the effort to grow in breadth and depth, and to bring more and more of the universe within the scope of our individual organized thinking—in other words, on the continuation of our education through our adult years.

The purpose of the book is, therefore,

to furnish material for the adult seeker after knowledge, whether he has had schooling of the ordinary sort or not, by the use of which he may organize his thinking and broaden his outlook.

The chapter on history is contributed by Professor Sidney B. Fay, of Harvard University. He lists three of the functions of history: First, it "furnishes a useful framework or skeleton outline into which may be conveniently fitted the material of almost any other subject. . ." Second, it "gives one a time sense and a realization of the law of evolution. . ." Third, it "furnishes valuable lessons for understanding the present and for guidance in the future."

Since one of the primary purposes of the book is to indicate paths by which one may follow more intimately the possibilities suggested by the various subjects, there is at the conclusion of each chapter an outline of books suitable for further reading.

### The Progressive Era

John Chamberlain, assistant book editor of the New York *Times*, has written a history and analysis of the progressive movement in the United States. He gives it the suggestive title "Farewell to Reform" (New York: Liveright. \$3.00). He speaks of the progressives as reformers. They began to assert a considerable influence about 1890, and the period of their greatest activity extends to about 1920. Among their leaders we find men of both political parties. There is William Jennings Bryan, a Democrat, and Robert M. La Follette, a Republican. Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican, reached the White House, and so did Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat. There were populists, single taxers, and other economic and political elements in this general movement of liberalism. There is a considerable literature of progressivism, finding expression in fiction and essays. Lincoln Steffens, William Allen White, Ernest Poole, Ida M. Tarbell, Winston Churchill, David Graham Phillips, Charles A. Beard; these are among the literary representatives of progressivism.

What did these progressives want? Their program called primarily, according to Mr. Chamberlain's interpretation, for legislation which would curb big business in such a way as to give freer opportunity for the small business man, the shopkeeper. The lot of the laborer and the farmer was to be improved. The common man was to be made safer and more comfortable. But all this was to be done without altering the capitalist system. The movement was not revolutionary, either in the field of economics or of politics. Changes of political procedure were indeed advocated. The nomination of candidates by the direct primary, the direct election of senators, the initiative, referendum and recall—these devices for rendering the machinery of government more democratic—were advocated, and many of them were adopted, but the fundamental character of the government was not attacked.

Mr. Chamberlain treats this era of progressivism as one of failure. In spite of all the agitation of these liberals, the power of the captains of industry remained at the end of the period intact. The farmer, the laborer, the small business man, the shopkeeper—none of these was more secure. The controlling forces in society remained where they had been. The author closes with a chapter in which he forsakes the role of historian for that of prophet. He outlines three possible roads along which we may travel. One is the road of Fascism. The other is Communism. The third possibility is a continuation of planless capitalism with its attendant periods of crisis and depression. There will be wide disagreement concerning the soundness of Mr. Chamberlain's conclusions, but he has given us a very stimulating analysis of recent American history.



—Culver Service

WILLIAM J. BRYAN  
One of the leaders in the progressive movement described in "A Farewell to Reform."

## New Cabinets Come into Power in Both Germany and France

(Concluded from page 8)

In France the Independent, the Republican-Democratic Union, and the Popular Democratic parties may be grouped together under the classification of Right. On the Left, there are the Republican Socialist, Independent Left, Radicals, Radical Socialists, Socialists, and Communists. In the Center, between these two groups, are the Radical and Social Left, Democratic and Social Action, Left Republicans, and Radical Left. The names of the parties, it will be seen, mean very little.

### French Politics

The new premier of France, Edouard Daladier, is, as we have said, the leader of the Radical Socialist party. This does not mean that he is a Radical Socialist, as we would use that term. His party represents small farmers, retail merchants, government employees, and stands between the conservative parties which would preserve the present social order and the socialist groups which would change it. It is regarded as one of the parties of the Left. This party favors reconciliation with Germany and co-operation with the League of Nations. It favors disarmament under League control. However, it opposes a revision of the present treaties. In domestic affairs it stands for a reduction of military expenses and favors labor legislation and various forms of social insurance. It approves high income taxes. In order to continue in office, it must have the support of the Socialists, a party which stands a little farther to the Left. Socialists are demanding a reduction of military expenses, and under present circumstances—with Hitler in control in Germany—it will be hard for the Daladier government to effect reductions. The position of the new government is therefore unstable.

## Senate Finance Committee to Consult National Leaders

The Senate Finance Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Reed Smoot of Utah, has issued invitations to fifty-two men of prominence to give their diagnoses as to what is wrong with our economic system and what can be done to repair the broken-down parts. Most of the persons to whom the invitations were issued are industrial leaders. This is in contrast to President-elect Roosevelt's apparent disposition to seek the counsel of persons in the academic world; for example, Dr. Raymond O. Moley and Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell.

**The GRANTING of the MAGNA CARTA**  
THE SCROLL THAT CONTAINS THE IDEALS OF ENGLISH LIBERTY.  
• JUNE 15-23, 1215 •

**R**ICHARD THE LION HEARTED DIED WITHOUT LEAVING AN HEIR AND WAS SUCCEEDED TO THE ENGLISH THRONE BY JOHN. BECAUSE OF HIS MANY VICES AND HIS QUARRELS WITH POPE INNOCENT III JOHN WAS UNPOPULAR WITH THE ENGLISH BARONS. IN ADDITION, HIS UNSUCCESSFUL WARS IN NORMANDY MADE HEAVY DRAINS ON THE COUNTRY'S FINANCES AND THE BARONS REFUSED TO INCREASE THEIR ALREADY BURDENSONE TAXES.

**I**N MAY 1214, JOHN'S ARMY WAS CRUSHED IN NORMANDY. THE GENERAL DISCONTENT GREW IN ENGLAND UNTIL FINALLY THE BARONS UNITED IN WITHDRAWING THEIR ALLEGIANCE TO THE KING AND MARCHED ON LONDON IN FORCE. INTIMIDATED AT LAST, JOHN CALLED A CONFERENCE ON THE FIELD OF RUNNYMEDE ON JUNE 15, 1215. HERE THE MAGNA CARTA OR GREAT CHARTER WAS DRAWN UP AND SEALED DURING THE FOLLOWING WEEK. IT RESTORED THE GOOD LAWS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, GUARANTEED THE NOBLES THEIR LIBERTIES AND GAVE THEM THE POWER TO ENFORCE THESE GRANTS THEMSELVES.

**A**LTHOUGH JOHN REPUDIATED THE CHARTER HE DIED THE NEXT YEAR, AND THE DOCUMENT, FOUR COPIES OF WHICH ARE NOW PRESERVED IN ENGLISH MUSEUMS, HAS REMAINED THE IDEAL AND SYMBOL OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF ALL ENGLISHMEN DOWN THROUGH THE CENTURIES.

ONE OF THE "GREAT MOMENTS."

A rapid, vivid survey of the entire period of civilization is to be found in "Great Moments of History," by Samuel Nisenon and Alfred Parker.

# SOCIAL SCIENCE BACKGROUNDS

**WHEN** we come to the period following the Civil War—the so-called Reconstruction period—we should not consider it as a series of events unrelated to

**Lincoln's Reconstruction Program**

any permanent trends. Rather, it should be looked upon in the light of similar experiences in the history of our nation. The most directly analogous is the period of adjustment following the World War when once more we had the difficult task of deciding what policies should be adopted by the victorious toward the vanquished. While there are naturally certain fundamental differences between the two instances, due to the international character of the one conflict and the strictly national character of the other, a comparison between the two may be drawn with profit at this time since we have not yet completed the liquidation of the World War and are still feeling the effects of the reconstruction policies.

It had been the desire of Abraham Lincoln to pursue a moderate policy toward the states that had sought to withdraw from the Union. In fact, his theory was that they had never been disunited, that it was constitutionally impossible for a state to leave the Union. Consequently he wanted them to enjoy their full rights and powers as members of the Union with the least possible delay and embarrassment. His concrete proposal was that any state should be readmitted to its previous status as soon as one-tenth of those who had voted in the 1860 election had pledged allegiance to the United States and a state government had committed itself to uphold the laws passed during the conflict with reference to slavery. "We must extinguish our resentments if we would expect harmony and union," Lincoln had said the morning of his death.

When such a liberal policy became known, it was hailed in both sections of the country as wise and desirable. Northerners did not immediately voice any opposition to it.

**Opposition to Moderate Policy**

But it was not long until a storm of protest arose, the full effects of which were felt by Lincoln's successor, who maintained the same ideas on methods of reuniting the federal bonds. It was these forces of opposition which were finally to control the Congress and to scrap the entire reconstruction program of Lincoln.

Opposition came chiefly from three sources. First, there were the fanatics who, throughout the days of the Abolitionists and other anti-slavery groups, had tied the slavery issue to religious beliefs and had fought against it with all the zeal and fervor of crusaders. They were afraid that leniency toward the defeated states would result in the re-establishment of slavery throughout the South and inevitably in further attempts at disunion. These elements were especially potent throughout the New England states.

Secondly, Lincoln's reconstruction program met with stout opposition from various industrial

interests in the North. As we have previously pointed out on this page, one of the chief issues dividing the North and South before the war was the tariff. The manufacturing concerns had consistently opposed a low tariff and were always trying to have laws passed by Congress that would increase the duty rates. To the Southern states, such an economic policy was detrimental. These industrial groups, therefore, were restive lest Southern statesmen, having once regained their positions in Congress, be in a position to defeat the tariff policies of the North.

Finally, the reconstruction views of Lincoln and Johnson were opposed by certain Republican politicians from purely political motives. The Republican party was in its infancy, having won its first presidential contest in the 1860 election. Its leaders recognized that its retention of power depended in no small way upon keeping the South politically impotent. Republicanism was deeply entrenched in the North. But the West and South might again unite, as they had done so many times in history, to overturn it and place the Democratic party in power once more.

These three groups of opponents were, for the most part, made up of men who had taken no active part in the war. They were the business men and politicians who had seen no active service at the battlefront. Such hatred and opposition to conciliation toward defeated peoples by those who remain at home is not an unusual condition following every war, for as James Truslow Adams points out in his "Epic of America": "No one ever pretends to hate the enemy or covers him with obloquy so deeply as does the man or woman who never met him in fair fight."

This campaign of opposition was centered in the persons of certain congressional leaders, principally Thaddeus Stevens, Republican leader in the House whose personal economic interests were bound up in the continuation of Republican policies, and Charles Sumner, senator from Massachusetts. These, and the other "radical" leaders in Congress, insisted that the Southern states had lost all their rights under the Constitution by seceding and should thus be treated harshly.

Details of what the irreconcilables succeeded in doing in "reconstructing the Union" need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that their policies—the "carpetbagger" and "scalawag" episodes being but one manifestation of their tactics—were so drastic as to make the two decades following the Civil War one of the blackest pages in American history. The flames of hatred and animosity stirred by this reconstruction program continued to burn long afterward and even today strains of resentment are still to be found in many places.

It is idle speculation to venture a suggestion as to what might have happened had Lincoln lived and had a man so tactless and blunt as Johnson not been placed at the helm of the government. Certain it is, however, that the bonds of union would have been restored more rapidly had the defeated states not been treated so barbarically. Had they been made to feel equal with their Northern brothers and had they been made to see that rejoining the Union was to their economic and political advantage, the reconstruction period might be considered as an intelligent step forward in the history of civilized peoples.

We need not stretch the imagination too much to discern certain points of comparison between the history of the period just considered and the reconstruction policies following the World War. In the White House there was a man instilled with idealism

**Comparison With Post-War Reconstruction**

who felt that the best way to treat Germany and the other defeated nations was to adopt a moderate plan of reconstruction and readjustment. He wanted to bring those countries back into the family of nations more as equals than as conquered peoples. To this end, he suggested that they become members of his projected League of Nations. His Fourteen Points took into account the needs of the vanquished as well as the victorious.

The promulgation of these principles was

at the beginning heralded with enthusiasm throughout the world and brought to Woodrow Wilson esteem and fame the like of which few men in history have ever known. But when the time came concretely to give effect to these ideas, the idealistic program was scrapped by political bickerings and diplomatic wranglings. Even Wilson himself made concessions on point after point until what emerged from Versailles bore little resemblance to what had originally been uppermost in the minds of the people of the world. He consented to fastening upon the shoulders of Germany a yoke of reparations which for thirteen years kept international relations in a state of perpetual turmoil and which eventually had to be abolished. The humiliation brought to the defeated nations by the limitations placed upon their armaments has become greater with the passing of years until today it stands as one of the major obstacles to international amity and stability. It has to this day been regarded by the defeated nations as an infringement upon their sovereignty.

The motives actuating those who opposed the original liberal program of Wilson were not dissimilar from those which gained the ascendancy following the Civil War. There were those in this country and abroad who became fanatical in opposing leniency toward Germany. Theirs was an almost religious fervor against a plan which might restore Germany to a monarchical form of government and thus defeat the purpose of the war which in the minds of many had been "to make the world safe for democracy." In the peace negotiations, those who felt that the only way to prevent such a thing was to keep Germany repressed by the allies gained the upper hand and imposed their wills upon the others.

Nor was the influence of economic groups lacking after the World War. French industrial concerns brought pressure to bear upon the negotiators at Paris and insisted that economically Germany be prevented from regaining her previous power. If she were made to pay a heavy bill of reparations, it was felt, she would have less to devote to the rehabilitation of her industries and to the resuscitation of her economic life. With German industries kept in a state of prostration, competition in world markets would be greatly lessened. A strong movement even developed after the war to place certain German industries permanently under the control and domination of French capitalists in order to keep the Germans in a position of economic inferiority.

It is fairly certain that much of the ill feeling that has harassed the world since 1918 might have been obviated had a more moderate course toward the vanquished nations been followed. The last chapter in the post-war reconstruction has not yet been written. There are potent factors at work today in this country and abroad which are trying finally to liquidate the war and to establish more stable bases for international understanding and good will.



RECONSTRUCTION DAYS IN THE SOUTH  
Union soldiers distributing food to people in the South after the Civil War.

—Courtesy McKinley Publishing Co.

## Jane Addams, of Hull House Fame, Urges Policy of Internationalism

Jane Addams, whose social welfare activities for nearly threescore years have won her great admiration and coveted distinction in the hearts of Americans, has contributed an article of timely interest to the current issue of the *Survey Graphic*. She chooses for her topic of discussion what she terms our "national self-righteousness" and expresses her opinion as to how this national attitude has produced evil consequences with respect to problems of social welfare. Later on in the article she deals with a larger phase of the question—nationalism versus internationalism. Whether one agrees with Miss Addams' contentions or not, her article furnishes food for thought for those who are anxious to read critical analyses of their country as well as national eulogies. Here, briefly, is the substance of her article:

The United States is, and has been, afflicted with a superiority complex with relation to foreigners. As early as 1830 this country developed an attitude of condescension toward foreign nations—an attitude which has made the United States more backward than most European countries in enacting protective legislation for laborers. Nearly all European governments have adopted some form of unemployment insurance and old-age security, while the United States has lagged behind in such measures.

"By a curious twist," says Miss Addams, "in the course of time it came to be considered patriotic to oppose governmental measures for workmen's compensation, for unemployment insurance, or for old-age security, because such legislation was not needed by the successful self-made American. As our cities developed overcrowded tenements, sweating systems, a high infant death rate—and many another familiar aspect of hastily organized and unregulated industry—all such social dis-

orders became associated in the public mind with the immigrant. We had no such impassioned study of poverty as marked the decade of 1880 in England, by Charles Booth and Rountree; no such compunction as that produced by the prolonged dockers' strike in East London. The English conscience was thoroughly aroused and during the eighties the House of Commons came to believe that representative government was performing its legitimate function when it considered such matters. During that very decade in the United States we childishly found an alibi for all the disturbing problems of the industrial order and put them off on the immigrant."

Miss Addams thinks that another unfortunate result which has developed from our national attitude toward the immigrant is in connection with our crime problem. It is her contention that a large part of the indifference in inflicting punishment on criminals in certain of our large cities is due to the fact that so many gangsters are foreigners. She says: "Connivance at murder is a grave charge not to be lightly entered into, and yet during four years, from January, 1928, to January, 1932, we had in Chicago 232 gang killings in which the law-enforcing agencies failed to bring even one to trial. If rival gangs attempt to exterminate each other, apparently not only the good citizens but the officials responsible for the prosecution of the crime of murder virtually say, 'Let them inflict their own punishments.'" Therefore, Miss Addams maintains, no permanent solution to the problem of crime can be effected until the processes of law and order are applied alike both to foreigners and Americans.

Miss Addams goes on to show how she thinks our "national self-righteousness" manifested itself in the case of prohibition: "Because the Simon-pure American did make an exception of himself—what

congressmen are anxious to remain on good terms with him so that he will favor his "supporters back home" in passing out federal patronage. President-elect Roosevelt has indicated that he will make but few of these appointments until after the special session of Congress which, it is expected, he will call sometime in April.

### CORDELL HULL

Speculation is still running rife as to cabinet possibilities in the new administration. In informed circles it is said that Owen D. Young definitely refused the secretaryship of state, for he felt that he could not allow his name to be considered for a cabinet place, partly because of business affairs and also for personal reasons. The next strongest candidate for this high office, it is rumored, is Senator Cordell Hull of Tennessee.

A traditional low-tariff Democrat, Senator Hull is a capable politician; and he has recently made a profound study of international affairs. He is a lawyer by profession, has been elected to every Congress, with one exception, since the sixtieth session, was chairman of the Democratic National Convention from 1921 to 1924. While a member of Congress in 1913, he became the author of the income-tax system; also the author of Federal Estate or Inheritance act of 1916. His election to the Senate took place in 1930. A tall, slender person, Senator Hull is extremely cordial and well liked among his colleagues. His vote is usually cast with the liberals.

When a new president assumes power he has to make hundreds of federal appointments for local offices. These appointments give the president during the early part of his administration, an excellent weapon to wield over Congress, for



© Harris &amp; Ewing

JANE ADDAMS

was good for the immigrant was not necessarily good for him—he exempted himself from laws which he would like to see enforced upon others, with the result that the individual often voted for laws which he himself had no intention of obeying. For instance, many Southern men voted for the eighteenth amendment because they wanted to keep drink away from the negro, other Northern men because they needed sober immigrant labor and the elimination of "blue Monday."

In conclusion Miss Addams pleads for a tearing down of our extreme nationalistic feelings at a time when international cooperation and mutual understanding are so necessary in dealing with both the United States and the world's economic ills. She criticizes those who insist that the cause for our present troubles is entirely foreign in nature and who contend that we should completely disentangle ourselves from for-

eign "contamination." In fact it is her belief that unless we take the lead in lowering economic barriers the consequences may be more far-reaching than is possible to realize. She quotes the following report signed by leading members of the Finance Committee of the League of Nations: "It may be truly said that international trade is being gradually strangled to death. If the process continues, millions of people in this economically interlocked world must inevitably die of starvation."

However, Miss Addams is not without hope. She forcefully reveals that the precarious position in which the world finds itself is man-made. And she does not argue that we are entirely responsible for such a condition. But she does believe that we have contributed a large share toward world chaos by adopting a policy of economic and political isolation from the rest of the world since the late war.

## Adolf Hitler, "Man Without Country" During War, Has Had Spectacular Rise to Power

The world awaits Adolf Hitler's next move. His rise to power in Germany has been hurried and spectacular. Born in Austria forty-three years ago, this dynamic German chancellor has led an eventful life. A teacher influenced him as a boy, to great admiration for Germany and contempt for Austria-Hungary and its Hapsburg government. This early influence shaped his entire career.

When he was thirteen, both his parents died and young Hitler was compelled to seek his own livelihood. He worked at miscellaneous trades, first at Vienna and later at Munich. His early ambition to be an artist was soon extinguished, since providing himself with the necessities of life left him very little time to spend with his favorite hobby—drawing.

By fighting in the German army during the World War, Hitler lost his Austrian citizenship without gaining German citizenship. He became a man without a country. Armistice Day found him gassed and lying seriously ill in a hospital. But his recovery was rapid and in 1920 he founded the National Socialist party or

"Brown Shirts," as they are sometimes called because of the color of their shirts. Their platform demanded the overthrow of the republic, the establishment of a dictatorship and the nationalization of industry. Like Italy, this new party represented Fascist creeds.

By 1923 Hitler had more than 200,000 followers. In that year he engineered an unsuccessful uprising (putsch) in Bavaria. After ten months in prison he decided to follow legal methods.

Despite Hitler's meager education he seems to have a keen grasp of public problems. His brilliant oratory, his personal magnetism and his elaborate promises for a better, more powerful Germany, have organized a party of such strength that it is second to none in the Reichstag. And he expects greatly to increase its strength in the March election.

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CORDELL HULL© Henry Miller  
ADOLF HITLER

## New Cabinets Come into Power in Both Germany and France

(Continued from page 1)

mass of business establishments. He is an advocate of the capitalist system. He insists, however, upon the distribution of the benefits of that system among the masses of the people by abolishing certain classes of unearned income, by compelling business organizations to establish plans for sharing profits among the employees, by establishing a comprehensive system of old-age pensions and by bringing about land reforms, so that some of the large estates may be distributed among small landholders. He also opposes the chain store system.

While Hitler promises in this way to look after the interests of the common people, he opposes bitterly the policies of Communism. He stands squarely against the Communistic plans to do away with private property ownership. Not only does he oppose Communism, but he insists upon putting down the agitation for Communism. He favors the curbing of the Communists with an iron hand. Thus he is brought into deadly conflict with the very strong forces of Communism.

### Foreign Policy

If Hitler comes fully into power, we may expect that he will try very hard to bring the Polish Corridor back to Germany. This will bring him into conflict with Poland. He may adopt a moderate attitude. He may not go to the point of war, but the very fact that he is chancellor has spread anxiety among the Poles. Hitler would like to establish a close coöperation between Germany and Italy. His system of government resembles Italian Fascism very closely. He no doubt dreams of becoming a German Mussolini. If he can do so, he will establish a dictatorship. He has advocated the dictatorial plan of government, and he has little respect for democracy. Furthermore, he feels that the policies of Germany and Italy are in accord. Both countries are jealous of the power exercised by France. Both the Germans and Italians feel that they were not dealt with fairly in the making of the treaties. Both wish to expand—Italy in the neighborhood of the Adriatic, and Germany by taking the Polish Corridor and rectifying certain other frontiers. Both are for changes in the Peace Treaty, whereas France and her allies are for maintaining the system set up by the Treaty.

Hungary and Bulgaria and Austria are also dissatisfied with post-war conditions. They are for changes in the Treaty, so the coming of Hitler to power may mean a

lining up of these nations which are anxious for a "new deal"—Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. On the other side would be the nations which are anxious to maintain territorial boundaries as they are. These nations which would keep territorial boundaries intact and which would maintain the other provisions of the Treaty are France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Jugoslavia. Great Britain is not concerned so vitally as are the other nations, either in the maintenance or the changing of the *status quo*. But whatever the other international effects of the coming to power of Hitler may be, it is quite certain that he will insist upon arming Germany, even though the Treaty of Versailles forbids German armament.

### Present Political Situation

It should be said, however, that Hitler is not fully and definitely in power. He is indeed the chancellor, but only three of the eleven members of his cabinet belong to his party. The other members are Nationalists. They follow the leadership of Dr. Alfred Hugenberg, who occupies a place in the cabinet as economics minister and minister of food and agriculture. Dr. Hugenberg is one of Germany's great industrial leaders. He agrees with Hitler in that he is nationalistic and favors doing away with the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, but he opposes most of the features of Hitler's domestic program. For example, he is opposed to the social legislation, the old-age pensions, government ownership of monopolies or trusts and other of Hitler's plans for rigid government regulation of the industrial life of the nation.

Even with the support of the Nationalists, Hitler does not have a majority in the German Reichstag, or parliament. He is not now in a position to govern with the Reichstag. He would like to dismiss the Reichstag and govern without it, but President Hindenburg will not consent to a dictatorship at this time, and Hitler is not strong enough to disregard the old military hero. His hold upon the people seems not to be strong enough for that. So the Reichstag has been dissolved and a new election has been called for March 5. If Hitler, with his National Socialist party



THE POLICE ARE KEPT BUSY IN GERMANY © Wide World Photos  
Many riots and demonstrations have taken place in Berlin and other German cities in connection with Hitler's coming into power.

(or Nazis) and the Nationalists under Hugenberg gain a clear majority of the Reichstag on March 5, Hitler will still be somewhat hampered because he will have to have the Hugenberg support. If the Hitlerites and the Nationalists fail to get a majority, it may mean the ousting of Hitler from the chancellorship. There is, of course, the possibility that Hitler may feel himself strong enough to take charge of the armed forces of the country and declare a dictatorship, but that is mere speculation. At any rate, much depends upon the outcome of next month's election.

### New French Cabinet

When we turn to France we find a more settled situation. The politics of that country is indeed turbulent and unsettled, but the issues are by no means so vital as those which shake Germany to the very foundations. Edouard Daladier, leader of the Radical Socialist party in France, has succeeded in forming a cabinet. The Chamber of Deputies has voiced its approval of the new government by a vote of 370 to 200. M. Daladier's position is not so secure as this vote might indicate, however, for certain of the parties which voted their confidence in his government may shift away from him at any time. He has to secure the coöperation of other parties than his own in order to hold a majority, and how long he will be able to maintain this support is problematic.

### "Right" and "Left"

Before we undertake an explanation of the French political situation, it may be well to make clear the meaning of certain terms which are used in describing political forces, not only in France but throughout the world. We refer to the terms "Right" and "Left." Especially in the case of France we read of the parties of the Right and of the Left. We read of Right and Left blocs or groups. For the origin of these terms we must go back to the French Revolution. In the early days of the Revolution the National Assembly was divided into two opposing groups. The representatives of the common people were demanding sweeping reforms in the government. They wanted to take away some of the powers of the king and establish a constitutional monarchy. The representatives of the nobility and the higher clergy, on the other hand, opposed any of these changes. They were the conservatives, whereas the commoners were the radicals. When the members of the Assembly filed into the hall where their sessions were to be held, they took their places

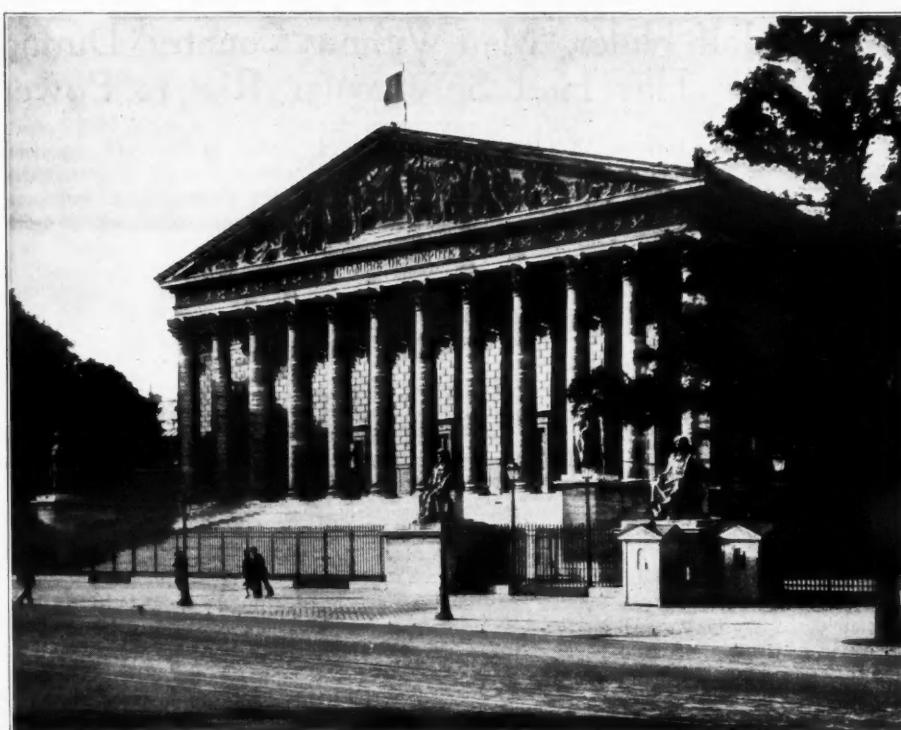
quite by accident, since no definite arrangements for the meetings had been made. It happened that the representatives of the common people, the *bourgeoisie*, took their places on the left side of the hall, while the members of the nobility and the higher clergy found their way over to the right side. The advocates of sweeping changes, the radicals, came then to be called the "Left," while those who wanted to preserve conditions as they were, were called the "Right."

These titles were maintained throughout the Revolution. After a while, as the Revolution progressed, the nobility and the clergy were out of the picture. Those who wanted a constitutional monarchy sat around on the Right then, and on the Left there was a group which demanded a republic. Later on the picture had changed again, and the advocates of the republic were on the Right, while the terrorists were on the Left. And so it went, always the more conservative elements being on the Right, and the more radical elements—those insisting upon greater change—being on the Left. Since that time it has come about that in every parliament of Continental Europe the more conservative parties sit on the Right of the Chamber, and the more radical parties sit on the Left. We have come to speak even in this country of conservatives as belonging to the Right, and radicals or liberals, to the Left. We speak of the "Right wing" of the Republican party, meaning the old line conservatives—the regular Republicans—and the "Left wing," meaning the progressives.

### Right and Left Parties

Differences may, of course, be noted from one country to another, but in general we may say that parties which stand to the Right are nationalistic, whereas those on the Left are international in tendency; that the Right are militaristic, whereas the Left are pacifist; that the Right stands for economic nationalism, for tariffs and trade barriers, whereas the Left stands for freedom of trade; that in home or domestic politics the parties of the Right represent the business interests, whereas the Left represents labor; that the Right opposes social legislation, such as the dole and pensions, whereas the Left favors this social legislation; that the Right is for low taxes on the wealthy, whereas the Left is for high taxes on the rich as a means of redistributing wealth; that the Right is for private ownership of industries, whereas the Left is for government ownership. The Right is usually against any extensions of democracy, whereas the Left is for it. The Right is inclined to emphasize the desirability of religion, whereas the Left may be religious, but in some cases opposes the influence of the church. The Right is always against socialism, whereas in some countries, the Left supports it.

(Concluded on page 5, column 4)



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